

A N
A N S W E R

T O T H E

Letter to Two Great Men.

C O N T A I N I N G

Remarks and Observations on that Piece, and
vindicating the Character of a Noble Lord
from Inactivity.

*Si pacem vultis solidam stabilire; cruento
Hosti, bellandi sit adempta potentia, quaeso.*

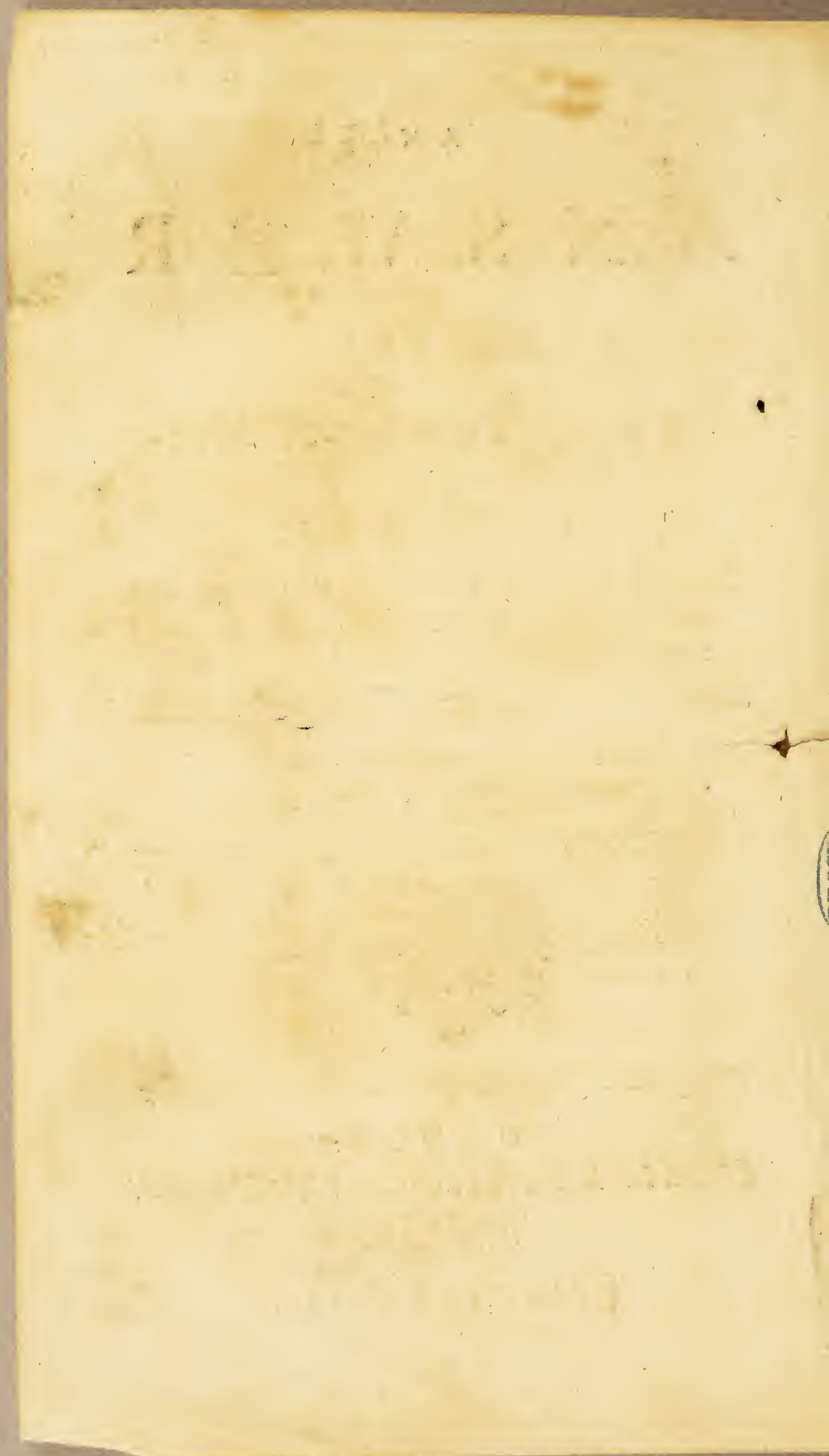


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Letter to the Two Great Men.

S I R,



HOUGH I may not be personally acquainted with you, yet the same Privilege which enables you to write *A Letter to the Two Great Men*, may be supposed to indulge me with the Liberty of committing to the Press some Observations upon it; so that without any further Apology I may proceed to what I intend, in the mean Time protesting, that a Love for my Country, Duty to my King, and a Regard to Candour and Integrity, are the sole Motives that influence me to this Correspondence: And as the Subject of your Performance is of no less a National Concern than that of establishing Peace and Tranquillity at the Nego-

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ciation so long expected, so I shall without confining myself to the Order in which you prosecute your Letter, proceed to make such Observations as have occurred in the several Companies where the Conversation turned upon the Subject of a Congress betwixt the Powers at War.

I must be of the same Opinion with you in Regard to the Speech uttered at the Opening of this last Session of Parliament by His Majesty's Command, and can with Pleasure take a Review of the other Speeches both pronounced by His Majesty himself, and by those whom he intrusted with His Royal Mandate. In all which there are the most striking Tokens of Clemency, tempering Justice, and the plainest Testimony of a Moderation to soften the Rigour which His Majesty might be intitled to insist on by the Law of Arms. A Review of these Royal Declarations, cannot but inspire with the highest Veneration and Regard, and while it endears His Majesty to his People, so it cannot fail of drawing forth Shouts of Applause in favour of those able Counsellours who adorn His Majesty's Choice.

Tho' the different Speeches from time to time ever since the Commencement of the War, be sufficient to set off the Moderation and Goodness of His Majesty's Counsels, yet the magnanimous Declaration of Prince *Lewis* of *Brunswick* merits a more than ordinary Applause, since it proceeded from a Goodness of Disposition, and a generous Sympathy which are the noblest Indications both of the Hero and of the Christian *.

After

* *Their* *Britannic* *and* *Prussian* *Majesties*, *moved* *with* *Compassion* *at* *the* *Mischiefs* *which* *the* *War* *that* *has* *been* *kindled* *for* *some* *Years*; *has* *already* *occasioned* *and* *must* *necessarily*

After this Declaration so noble in itself, and so generous even beyond Expectation and Example, it would be unbecoming to deviate from what has been hitherto professed both in the Speeches from the Throne, and in that emitted in the Face of all *Europe* at the Court of a Neutral Power. If the *French* be perfidious, let us religiously adhere to the strict Letter of our own Declarations, and not discover any Inclination to retract what of our own proper Motion proceeded from a Nobleness of Soul that is touched with the Calamities of others; and far from insisting upon the particular Part where Negotiations are to be conducted, let us rather submit that Point to a Neutral Power, since if Conditions tho' just and honourable in themselves were agreed to, yet the other Powers would be apt to say, that these were extorted at a Time when the Plenipotentiary was surrounded with his Enemies, as being in the Kingdom of that Power who was at War with the Sovereign he represented: It is not, Sir, without good Cause and sufficient Reasons, that the different Authors who write upon the Rights of Peace and War, have always fixed upon Neutral Places for treating of Peace, in order to come to an Agreement: Even when Generals proposed a Conference, the same was to be at a reasonable Distance from their Armies: Thus when the two great Captains *Hannibal* and *Scipio* came to a Conference immediately before the Battle of *Negarada*, it was not till their Guards were re-

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removed

cessarily produce, have determined to make the following Declaration, — “ That they are willing to send Plenipotentiaries to the Place which shall be thought most proper, in order there to treat conjointly of a solid and general Peace with those whom the belligerent Powers shall think fit to authorize on their Part for the attaining so salutary an
“ End.”

moved to an equal Distance *, and then the former
 begun by his Interpreter in Terms which the Faith-
 fulness of History has transmitted to us; and though
 the Conference was unsuccessful, yet the Comman-
 ders retired with mutual Admiration of each others
 Sedateness and Temper. To treat in an Enemy's
 Tent, or Head-Quarters, is always construed as un-
 fair, and seldom ceases to furnish Arguments to the
 other Power for pretending that under the Colour of
 a Treaty he was forced into Things, contradictory in
 themselves, cruel and oppressive in their Nature, and
 which nothing but Force and lawless Power could
 have dictated. This was the very Argument made
 use of by *Augustus I.* King of *Poland* against the
 Treaty of *Altrastadt*, signed and solemnly sworn
 to between *Charles XII.* of *Sweden* on the one Part,
 and *Frederick*, King of *Poland* on the other; which
 last threw all the Blame of that Treaty upon his
 Plenipotentiary, though he himself had given the
 Ambassador a *Charte Blanche*, in order to ease his
 Electoral Subjects of the Burthen under which they
 groaned †. His *Polish* Majesty insisted, that his In-
 structions to the Plenipotentiary were, to procure
 him *Christian and Equitable Conditions*; and that as the
 being obliged to renounce his ~~Country~~ and Dignity
 was neither *Christian* nor *Equitable*, and besides all
 this, *inconsistent with his Coronation Oath*, so he thought
 himself free from these forced Engagements, and en-
 tered *Poland* at the Head of those very Troops which
 had given the first Umbrage to his wavering and un-
 faithful Subjects.

From this Conduct of the King of *Poland*, your
 own Sagacity, Sir, will point out in a clearer man-
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* *Livy*, Book 30.

† See the King of *Poland's* Manifesto August 10, 1709.

ner than I can pretend, that no Place whatever ought to be rigorously insisted upon for entering into a Negotiation, and that other Princes, as well as the *French* Kings, can break Treaties upon the slightest Pretences, and violate the most sacred Oaths when Ambition prompts to aspire at Dignity; and when the Ingenuity is set at work to find out an Excuse. From whence I would humbly be of Opinion, that neither *Paris* nor *London* ought to be the Place for a Negotiation: Treaties of Alliance, offensive and defensive have frequently been signed in the Capital of one of the contracting Powers, as that at *Vienna* 1756, between the *French* King and the House of *Austria*, but never at either of their Capitals when a Negotiation for Peace was entered into after a long and destructive War.

The next Thing, Sir, in a Negotiation that deserves Attention is, well to consider the Persons to be sent on so important a Message: they ought to be Men of Penetration, Skill and Dexterity, and in my Opinion, Men of Sobriety and impenetrable Secrecy: And could the Presence of the great Men who have conducted the War, be dispensed with, I am fully convinced that they would discharge their Duty in that particular, with the same Fidelity and Candour as hitherto they have executed the different Steps of their high Employments: Yet this, Sir, is not so convenient, I had almost said Practicable, for in a moral Sense whatever is not convenient, and for the Good of the Community, shall always be reckoned impracticable by me: However impracticable it may be, yet the Remedy is not so hard to be attained as you seem to insinuate: That *Aubur's* Chocolate-House, that *Marybone*, and the *B — C — ffee-House*, enhance too much the Time of our Nobility and Gentry is true, but that a Person cannot pretend to act in a publick

publick and interesting Character, such as that of a Negotiator, without being conversant in Places of publick Resort is equally true. The Man who is acquainted with most Scenes of Life, is the most proper Person to move in a publick Sphere.

Nor do I think it so hard to find out Persons among our Nobility and Gentry for entering upon the Task of a Negotiator. If it was not to offend the Modesty of some great Personages, it was easy to point out several Members both in the House of Lords and Commons, who have Skill to manage with Dexterity whatever may be entrusted with them. There are in both Houses Men of as great Address and Penetration, and of as much Skill and Dexterity as any that have appeared in *Britain*, since the first Institution of Parliaments: And such of them as have been Abroad, have brought their several Negotiations to an honourable Conclusion; so that it will be no Offence to their Modesty if I name them.

The present Earl of *Granville* while Lord *Carteret*, negotiated a Peace between the *Swedes* and the contending Powers that were conspired against them. He brought about a Reconcileation between them and the *Danes*, upon such just and equitable Conditions, that neither the one nor the other have found it their Interest to violate the same, even when there appeared an Opportunity; he likewise mediated a Peace between the Father of this very King of *Prussia* and the Queen of *Sweden* *; and at last brought about a Treaty between the *Swedes* and the *Czar*: Actions which tho' not like to that of negotiating with the Plenipotentiaries of a Power immediately at War with his own Sovereign, yet such as may give us reasonable Hopes to believe his Capacity for such an Employment.

* Both these Treaties happened in 1719.

Employment. The Earl of *Hyndford* negotiated a Peace between the Empress-Queen and the King of *Prussia*, and had a Motto given him by the *Prussian* Monarch, which is added to the Arms of his Family (*pro bene merito.*) The Father of the Earl of *Marchmont* was Ambassador at *Copenhagen* during a critical Juncture, and his Lordship of *Chesterfield* was at the *Hague* in Time of the greatest Intrigues carrying on by M. *Fenelon*, whose vast Talents were unable to promote the Schemes of his Court, which were always traversed and disconcerted by the Address and Policy of the *British* Ambassador: In a word I humbly think that there are many Men in the Nation fit to be employed in a Negotiation, beside the great Men who have conducted the War, and whose Absence cannot be dispenced with.

I shall not, Sir, follow you thro' the several Quotations given of the *Gallic* Faith, a Phrase borrowed with a little Variation, from the old *Romans* when speaking of the *Carthaginians*, which last seem to have been fully as strict in their Morals and more generous to Strangers than the other: For while the former counted all People *barbarous* but themselves, the latter embraced the whole Race of Mankind, and like the Subjects of their High Mightinesses consulted nothing but Navigation and Trade. What is the History of every Nation but an exaggerated Enumeration of violated Treaties, and broken Negotiations? This will easily occur to any Person who reads the Manifestoes of any Power when just going to War. They charge each other with Perfidy, Craft, and premeditated Perjury. Every Nation has the Press at Command in their own Territories, and the Cause is bad indeed which cannot be defended in a Paper War. When two Parties are confronted, Truth will prevail against Falshood, though supported by
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all the Props of Impudence and Effrontery ; but it is not so between two Parties who are never likely to see each other : In this Case the Paper will not blush, and both are at Liberty to say what they please. Nor do I think it a proper way of negociating, to insist on Breach of former Treaties, and demand all at once the Demolition of Places as a Preliminary under Pretence that this ought to have been done according to the Letter of former Stipulations. Men sent upon Negotiations ought to be equally smooth and peremptory ; and States who discover a Magnanimity in the Midst of amazing Success to enter upon Terms of Reconciliation, ought never to grate their Opponents by ripping up former Sores.

The *French* can produce Instances of the good Faith of their Princes, and even at this Time they tell us that once at a Cabinet Council held in the Presence of *Louis le Grand* ; the Grandfather of the present *French* King *Louis XV.* being then Duke of *Burgundy* said, *There is a Treaty**, and that the whole agreed to his Sentiments : From this Consideration I think it would be highly unbecoming in any Negotiator to insist upon the Perfidy of another's Constituent at a Congress, such Conduct as this was neither smooth, dexterous nor skillful.

You seem to insinuate, that the Treaty itself ought to be written in the *Latin* Language and not in the *French* Tongue, which the Courtiers of *Versailles* may vary as they please, and have been often known to such make Innovations in their Language as in their Modes and Fashions in order to drain the Purses of their Neighbours.

* See the *Life of the Archbishop of Cambray*, p. 26, and *M. Volt. Hist. War 1741.*

At first View such a Proposal cannot but seem plausible, had not Experience shewn that the many Inconveniencies and Disputes between neighbouring Powers, arose from the various Constructions put upon Phrases, Sentences, and Paragraphs in that Language: To remedy these frequent Disorders, it was agreed to draw up Treaties in the living Tongues. You, Sir, must know that Treaties of Peace and Reconciliation were written all over *Europe* in the *Latin* Tongue for many Centuries: All the Treaties of Peace between *Gustavus Adolphus* and the *Muscovites* are in that Language; so is his Treaty with the *Danes* and *Poles*, as are all *Oliver Cromwell's* Treaties of Reconciliation, nay all his Letters to foreign Potentates are wrote in *Latin*, and many of them fully as difficult to be understood as if written in *French* or *Italian*. Tho' I do not pretend to so great a Skill in that or any other Language as you Sir, yet I hope you will pardon me if I be humbly of Opinion, that the *Latin* Language is equally liable to be construed variously as the *French*, or any other living Tongue, when for a Miracle a Man is to be found who can keep up a Quarter of an Hour's Conversation in it.

I am far from averring that you, Sir, are amongst the Number of those who cannot talk with Propriety in it, you may or you may not for me; one thing is certain, that scarcely one Man of a thousand in any Profession I know, is adequate to it: The Clergy are generally deficient, and the *Latin* of Divines is far from being pure; that of the Lawyers is better, but where one Lawyer has a tolerable Smattering, almost the whole Body of those who wear the Gown are ignorant; the only People acquainted with that dead Language are the Physicians, and yet these are far from being capable to speak or understand it with

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Propriety

Propriety. And it would be hard if, on every Contest between us and *France* the real Treaty subsisting between us was only known to a few: For I set aside all Translations of a dead Language, as these are subject to various Interpretations. On which Account I own I am for concluding the Treaty both in *French* and in *English*, there being many *Englishmen* who understand the former, and many *French* who know and speak the other with Propriety.

I would not so willingly enter into any Dispute about what you suggest, as about the Justice of sending over those very Forces which had so lately agreed, neither directly nor indirectly, to bear Arms against *France*.

Whoever takes the Trouble to peruse the Memorials delivered by the *Abbe de la Ville*, and the Answers to them on that Controversy, particularly those on the Eighteenth and Twenty-first of *September*, and on the Sixth and Thirteenth of *October*, 1745, will see that a Mynheer can act the Sophister as well as Monsieur himself. The Subject of Debate was this: By the Capitulation of *Tournay* "the *Dutch* Garrison " of that Place was not to serve against the *French* " for a Year." The Treaty was signed under the Eye of the *French* King, who thought it derogatory to his Moderation and Generosity to insist upon the nicest Explanation; he contented himself with general Terms, which by the Law of Nations * he had a better Right to construct favourably for him than the *Dutch* had to explain against him. The Garrison marched out of *Tournay*, and passed thro' the *French* Army, which was drawn up on each Side, with the King and Marshal *Saxe* at their Head. His Majesty

* *Favorabilia latius, odiosa strictius interpretanda.* Puff. de Off. Hom. cap. xvii. lib. ix.

jelly on that Day discovered an unaffected Air of Humanity, and asked the Names of the different Regiments as they passed along.

In about two Months after this, a Rebellion broke out in *Scotland*, and Mr. *Trevor*, the *British* Minister at the *Hague*, required of the States General the 6000 Men stipulated by Treaties; the Requisition was complied with, but eight of the Battalions sent over were part of the Garrison of *Tournay*, which, if we allow the *French* to construct favourably for themselves, was neither to act directly nor indirectly against them for a Year. The States of *Holland* certainly knew that the Chevalier would not have undertaken such an Expedition without Encouragement from *France*, then at open War with the King of *England*; they likewise knew that the Assistance of six thousand Men from them, might be looked on as a Means for continuing the national *British* Troops in *Flanders*, which the *French* wanted to be sent Home; and it is no great Wonder if a Court less perfidious, according to you, than the *French*, should complain of a Violation in a Treaty so lately concluded; nor do I think that the Evasions used by the Mynheers in their Answers to the *French* Memorials, would have been fewer had the Treaty been drawn up in the *Latin* Tongue, since *Dutch* Connoisseurs are well acquainted with Etymology, and that no Words of a dead Language can be reduced to a popular Acceptation so well as those of a Living *. But be that as it will; the *Dutch* acted like the Monkey in the Fable, when judging about dividing a Cheese between two Cats; he first divided it into two unequal Parts, and took off from the largest as much as to

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* *Verba popularia accipienda populari usu.* Puff. c. 17.
§. 2.

render it lighter than the other, and so on till little or nothing was left in either Scale, and still he complained that Justice was not satisfied: The *Hogun Mogun* pleased *Britain* by sending the Troops according to Treaty, but they pacified *France* by their Inaction; for during the Winter they prevented by their Slowness the Execution of all the Schemes for putting an End to the Insurrection; for had they marched at the Time when General *Wade* required them, the Chevalier and his little Army might have been defeated at *Carlisle* before advancing farther into *England*. But not to dwell on this; I think the Treaty may be drawn up in any Language, provided no Restitution be made of any of the Conquests, which are but a Kind of Indemnification for the Expences of the War, and Maintenance of upwards of 12000 Prisoners, whom the Exigencies of *France* more than the Inhumanity of their Sovereign left to the Charity and good Disposition of their Enemies.

I agree with you in retaining *Canada*, with the Isles of *Cape Breton* and *St. John*; and think they should be annexed to the Crown of *Great-Britain* by Act of Parliament; but I cannot assent to the Scheme of destroying *Louisburgh*, and desolating the Island whereon it is built. 'Tis reckoned a Crime next to Sacrilege to shut up a Spring, or to destroy any publick Benefit which Nature has pointed out; nor is it a less folly to erase Houses and sap Towns; this was the Phrenzy of the *Goths* when they ravaged *Italy*; and alas! of the Populace at the Reformation when the noblest Edifices, some of which had been the Work of Ages, and the stately Ornaments of their Country, were pulled down.

In your Account of the Progress of the War in *North America*, a Phrase has dropt from your Pen in

Page 28, that reflects on a noble Lord whom you charge with **INACTIVITY**! But, Sir, I must be pardoned if I aver that the Earl of *Loudon*'s Conduct was too spirited to deserve the least Insinuation against it. He is both a Soldier and a Statesman; nor do I think a fitter Person could be appointed at the expected Congress, he being well acquainted with the *French* and *Latin* Languages, and possessed of all the Requisites of an Ambassadour *.

He is endowed with a cool Head and a warm Heart, which he ever shewed on all Occasions; his Exploits, during the Time of the Rebellion, will entitle him to the Love of every Briton, and to the Confidence of his Royal Master. By a presence of Mind sufficient to enoble any Hero, did he save two Regiments of Dragoons at the Battle of *Prestonpans*. By an Advice which argued Penetration and Sagacity, did he obtain a Commission from the Government for repairing to the North Highlands in *Scotland*, and enlisting Men for the Service of his Majesty *King George*, which was so great a Drawback, that almost 6000 Men were kept from joining the Standard of the Adventurer; and by a *Coup d'eclat* which was only defeated by the Treachery of a Guide, he had very nigh surprised the Chevalier in the Place where he was lodged; and not only so but when forced to retire, he kept up a Body of Men, almost by his own Prudence and good Behaviour, which obliged the Rebel Army to divide their Forces, and render the Victory at *Culloden* both more easy and compleat.

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* *Quorum Opera civitas apud exteros utitur cauti sint & circumspecti, inania a solidis, vera fabulosis discernere calidi, secretorum tenacissimi, pro utilitate suæ civitatis adversus quaslibet Corruptiones obstinati.* Puffend. lib. ii. de Off. Civ. c. 18. §. 13.

There are many Things in War besides fighting which only ought to take place when the same is inevitable. When his Lordship first arrived at *Hallifax*, after a dangerous Voyage in the *Nightingale*, which is as slow a sailing Ship as in the *English Navy*, it was the Seventh of *July 1757*; he found every Thing in disorder, (the Army scarcely consisting of nine Hundred Men, the Regiments of *Lascelles*, *Hopson*, and *Warburton*, all incomplete,) was disheartened; Division and Jealousy preyed upon the Minds of the Officers, Discontent and Murmuring fill'd the Mouths of the private Men, while the whole Provinces repined with Impatience for the Arrival of Admiral *Holborn*, with the Transports, which did not happen till a Fortnight afterwards. Magazines were wanting, Armies were out of Repair, the Artillery were unfit for use, the Roads which lay between him and a superior Enemy were unpassable, and in many Places were no Roads at all; add to all this, that the Enemy had a superior Army at *Louisbourg*, and a Fleet capable of fighting the Squadron under Admiral *Holborn*.

To remedy all which Evils, his Lordship arriv'd so late that if none of these Obstacles had been in the Way, nothing could have been done against the Enemy; however, he was so far from being inactive, that he was incessant in repairing every Inconveniency, and as nothing but Caprice and Rage prevailed in the different Provinces, that was like to break out into a Civil War; he by a Dexterity and Skill, equally remarkable, applied to reconcile opposite Parties, to remove false Prejudices, and by dissipating Jealousy and Distrust, to cement them to each other, and engage them cordially in the Cause of their King and Mother Country; he repaired from *Hallifax* with his Army in a Fleet of Transports to *New-York*, where he rectified Abuses; conferred

ferred with the Governors of the different Provinces, and their Deputies; he visited the Forts as far as *Albany*, and employed a Number of Hands to make a Road for marching Troops: Nothing, however secret, escaped his Eye, and having discovered that the Captains of several Vessels belonging to *New-York*, kept up a Correspondence with the Enemy, and gave them Intelligence of every Thing that passed, he wisely laid an Embargo upon the Shipping in that River, and quartered the Troops upon the Inhabitants, remedied every Inconvenience, so that at his Departure for *England*, an Army of fourteen Thousand Men was formed, and in top Spirits; Magazines were established for their Support; Arsenals were erected, the Artillery was in good Order and well served; Harmony and mutual Confidence reigned throughout the Provinces: He was so far from being inactive, that I doubt, if any one Man in the Island of *Great-Britain*, would have done more, and to better Purpose in so short a Time.

You next propose that *Guadaloupe*, *Senegal*, and *Goree*, be delivered up for *Minorca*, which last you seem to be for rendering desolate, and leaving to the *French*, if they chuse to possess it: On which Scheme, I beg Leave to observe, that the dispensing with *Senegal* and *Goree*, as being far from the Neighbourhood of any *British* Settlement, is the very Motive for retaining *Guadaloupe*; I would not be for erasing the *French* from the Face of the Earth; let them retire to *Hispaniola* and to the *Mississippi*. I only want to preserve Peace, and the best Way to secure it will be to remove them at the greatest Distance; nor would I have any Peace be concluded untill they were driven from *Martinico* itself, which may easily be effected in the following Manner: Let a strong Squadron of Men of War ride before their Harbours

to intercept their Provision, and let all the Prisoners of whatever Age or Sex be landed upon it, which will soon oblige them to surrender for want of Bread.

I am far from putting a small Value upon *Minorca*, nor yet for remembering 'the Circumstances of its Loss with as great Shame as we see the *French* possess it with Indifference ;' for the Bravery of Lord *Blakeney* will more than draw a Veil over the Misfortune of Admiral *Byng*; and the obstinate Defence made for 39 Days by his Lordship with an Handful of Men not sufficient to man all the Works, against an Army eight times their Number, and commanded by a Marshal of *France* will shine as brightly in the *British* Annals, as any of the Conquests gained in the memorable Year 1759. The Defence of St. *Philip's* Castle is a Miracle to any who duly considers it. The Company belonging to the Artillery was so far from being compleat, that the General himself was obliged to order the Soldiers to be trained in that Branch of Service; nay he frequently shewed them the Way of charging the Guns, and rendered them so expert that they often fired five Shot for three of the Enemy; he took Care to have great Guns suddenly sent out in lieu of a great many which were rendered; the Shells and Shot were carefully surveyed and guaged, which required the continual Application of the Governour, who erred in no Part of an Old Captain but that he exposed his Life too much like a Young Soldier. He even stood undaunted when the Balls struck into the Mouths of the Cannon mounted upon the Ramparts, and scattered the Stones of the Embrasures.

As you seem to be in some Degree for continental Measures, so I have taken a View of your Sentiments on that Particular, which with all due Deference, are not satisfactory to me; and I am one of those

those who cannot see the infinite Advantages which this Nation hath reaped from the *German War*. Nor can I see how “that universal Bankruptcy which hath crowned the Distresses of *France*” hath arisen from that Source. ’Tis true, *French Armies* were sent into *Westphalia*, but with no such Expence as you would insinuate; for the immense Sums levied upon *Hanover* and the other States of his *Britannic Majesty*, were more than sufficient to repay them: The Country was desolated by them; imperial Cities, such as *Bremen*, were obliged to receive their voracious Troops. The Houses of Noblemen and wealthy Burghers were stripped of their Plate and Jewels; nay, *Jews* were sent for from *Holland*, to buy them at less than one fourth Part of their Value. Curtains, Beds, and Linnen, were disposed of by the rapacious Soldiers; and when Buyers ceased to come in, the Remainder was packed up and sent into *France*; and, perhaps, were the several People employed in the Mint at *Paris*, to speak ingenuously, they would tell you that *German Plate* to the Amount of one Million Sterling, has been sent to them to be coined: The Landgraviate of *Hesse-Cassel* has also felt her Calamities, and the *French* have not only drained that Country of its ready Money, but also carried off Jewels and Plate to an immense Value, by which Means they have been enabled to carry on the War, and to augment their Marine: So far from exhausting their Treasure by the *German War*, that they have been enriched thereby; and Marshal *Richlieu* by the Spoils of the Country, has paid off the numerous Incumbrances and Mortgages upon his Estate. The Cattle of the poor Peasants of *Hanover* and *Hesse-Cassel*, and of the whole Country of *Westphalia*, have been almost driven off not only to sustain their Army

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but to victual their Fleets, and great has been the Havock in Woods and Forests for replacing their Marine.

It is not so much in Consideration of any Diversion that either the *Russians* or *Swedes* could make in Favour of the *Austrians*, that exorbitant Sums are payed to the one or other of these, as on Account of the Timber, Iron, Sail-Cloth, Cordage, Pitch, Tar, and other Materials for building a Navy; without being supplied by the *Russians* and *Swedes*, the Court of *France* would be obliged to give over all Thoughts of keeping any thing like a formidable Fleet, as being in want of these Particulars; nor was it so uneasy a Matter to prevail upon the *Russians* to break with the King of *Prussia*, in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*; the Prospect of being admitted as a Member of the College of Princes, in Consequence of *Livonia*, which is but a Fief of the Empire, might be one powerful Motive; and to unite with the House of *Austria*, who in their Turn, would upon Occasion make a Diversion against the *Turks*, might be another: And the Prospect of overawing the *Poles* in their Diets, and feeding an Hundred Thousand Men in that plentiful Country, might be a Third.

I am far from denying that the *French* Army has been unsuccessful in *Germany* last Summer, yet I cannot see what mighty Advantages were reaped by *Great Britain*, either by the Convention of *Gloster* *Severn*, on the Eighth of *September* 1757, or during the Course of the last Campaign. A numerous Body of *British* Auxiliaries who might have been cantoned along the Coast of *England*, have been at a prodigious Expence sent over and forced to undergo Hardships, which none but a Soldier can figure to himself, in another Country. And by an
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unhappy Circumstance still to be considered, the *British* Standards in the midst of Triumph were tarnished with Infamy ; as the Cavalry of that Nation was not engaged at the Battle of *Minden*. For my Part, I am of the Number of those who think that the *Germans* ought to fight for themselves ; the Country has always been a Grave to the *French* Soldiers ; a national Antipathy reigns between the Empire and *France*, nor would the Natives of the former be so ready to offer themselves to the highest Bidder if they were not sure that *England* will draw her Purse at the Auction : Nor would the latter be so ready to march Forces into the Territories of a few hungry Princes, if she was not fully assured that *England* would be drawn into the Quarrel by such a Conduct.

I would be as far as any Man from leaving the King of *Prussia* to the Mercy of his Enemies, and on that Account am for sending him the most effectual Relief. A Squadron of Men of War to block up the *Suedes* in the Isle of *Rugen*, and to parade from *Wismar* quite to the Gulph of *Dantzic*, would be of more real Advantage to him than an Army of 50,000 Land-Forces from *Britain*. By such a Conduct, the *Russians* would soon become sick of the War, and the King would be left at Liberty to deal with the House of *Austria* and with the *French* too, by Means of the Army of Prince *Ferdinand*. And, therefore, at the future Congress let our Plenipotentiaries be instructed to get it expressly stipulated, that the *French* Nation are in no Ways to march Forces into *Germany* under Penalty of feeling the whole Force of our Marine. This in my Opinion will be a Means of preventing that ambitious Court from raising vast Sums to build Ships, and succour her Colonies to our great Disadvantage and

Lofs. I thought to have made a few Observations upon your Recommendation for reducing the Number of Placemen, and introducing a proper Oeconomy after a Peace is settled; but as the two great Men to whom you address your Letter, have the Negotiation at this Time upon their Hands, so it is Time enough to point out the Methods of Oeconomy, when they are more at Leisure to peruse them.

No Man has the least Reason to doubt the Goodness of the Heart of one of the great Men, since Malice itself must own that whatever the warmest Imagination could suggest; whatever the fondest Hope could presage from his sublime Talents, and incorruptible Fidelity, have been more than realised by his Conduct since the Time he had the Direction of Public Affairs. Naturally endowed with all the Vigour of Mind which constitutes Magnanimity, and animated with such Zeal as would have enobled the chief Patriot in *Rome*; he has restored his Country to the Summit of Dignity; he has healed her Divisions, abolished the Distinctions of Party, and united his Fellow-Subjects in one hearty Concurrence, to support the Honour and promote the Happiness of the Community.

He has inspired our Councils with Resolution and Wisdom, and piloted our natural Strength thro' the proper Channel to Glory and Success. Under the Influence of his Ministry, distinguished above all others for Unanimity and Concord, our Arms by Sea and Land have been accustomed to Conquest, and have raised immortal Trophies in the four Divisions of the Globe; *Europe, Asia, Africa, and America* have in their Turns beheld illustrious Proofs of the *British* Valour; and Victory seems to have settled between the Knees of our aged Sovereign; a
Sovereign

Sovereign shining in Virtues and adorning the Brilliancy of his Diadem with the Silver Colour of his Grey Hairs!

The Year 1759 is an *Æra* which will shine unrivalled and with unfading Lustre in the *British* History. The Administration of Mr. PITT, that Delight and Ornament of his Country, will be a favourite Subject for succeeding Ages, and fill the Mouths of unborn Millions with Admiration and Gratitude; for he is the Man who possesses true Honour, by “ pursuing unweariedly the Welfare and Glory of his Country without being frightened by Dangers, or startled at the frothy Whims of popular Applause!” He will fix upon Men, cautious in their Conduct, skilful in their Management of Business, of inviolable Secrecy, and Proof against all the Efforts of Corruption and Bribery. He knows that the *French* are Members of a Church whose Maxim is Mental Reservation, and to “ keep no Faith with Hereticks,” and whose Members can write Volumes upon the long since adopted Saying of *Etheocles*, “ I have sworn with my Tongue, but not with my Mind. * ” He will give Instructions that no Negotiation be agreed to, in which the *French* are to be in our Neighbourhood; and when once the Peace is settled, he will apply himself to weed out such Abuses as choak up the benign Influences of the Constitution; the Number of Placemen will be reduced if found expedient, tho’ I shou’d be sorry if such a Reduction was to happen in Consequence of erazing the Fortifications of *Louisbourg*, or destroying the Citadel of *Fort St. Philip* and the Town of *Mahon*.

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* *Juravi lingua mentem injuratam gero.* Cic. de Off. lib. iii. c. 29.

By the happy Ascendant he so deservedly has obtained over our illustrious King, his Majesty will, after the Conclusion of the War, apply to whatever may be of the greatest Advantage, in procuring Unanimity among his Subjects, and giving Dignity to that Constitution which is by far the most rational in itself, the best calculated to promote mutual Happiness, and is justly the Admiration and Envy of the whole World.

Thus, Sir, I have named some few of the Observations that occurred on perusing your Performance; which rather deserves Approbation than Censure; and though I may differ from You in Sentiment, yet that need not break the Silver Cord which ought to unite all his Majesty's Subjects in a dutiful Respect to their Sovereign, and to each other: You are for a lasting and solid Peace, so am I. We only differ in Opinion about the Means to procure it: So without further enlarging on the Subject, I am for retaining all our *American* Conquests, and even for insisting upon *Martinico*; that Sepulchre of our Merchantmen; twelve Hundred of which have been carried into that Island since the Beginning of the War, and think that Hostages ought to be sent over till the same is done, in which Case let the Enemy have *Senegal* and *Goree*; and if the Peace be settled on these Terms, we need not be much concerned at the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, as it will not be in the Power of the Enemy to disturb us.

I am, &c.

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